

LABOR POWER

Official Organ of the Socialist Union Party

**Volume 1 - 2
1939 - 1941**

Introduction to the Greenwood reprint by

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Introduction
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Introduction

Labor Power, as the organ of a partially reconstructed DeLeonism, gave expression to the pre-World War I radical politics of "Impossibilism," seeking to chart a new course with old maps as guides, at a time when the United States was plunged into the drastically altered world of the Depression. *Labor Power* and its parent, the Industrial Union Party (later the Socialist Union Party), unlike the Socialist Labor Party from which the IUP was a factional emanation, partially succeeded in perceiving the new realities. But in a time when Left hegemony was held decisively by the Communist party and the CIO and a second World War neared, the publishers found no room to grow or even maintain themselves as a political group, and by 1941 for all practical purposes dissolved.

The prophet of *Labor Power* was Daniel DeLeon, who had died a quarter of a century before the periodical's birth. A Latin American-born, European-educated intellectual, DeLeon had taught briefly at Columbia University in the 1880s before his conversion to socialism. Joining the largely German-American, isolated Socialist Labor party in 1891, he rapidly achieved domination of the organization through his editing of its organ, the *People*. DeLeon's uncompromising hostility toward non-Socialist trade unions and any nonrevolutionary socialistic tendencies resulted in constant internal warfare within the SLP, culminating in the withdrawal of a sizable group, which helped to found the Socialist party. In that same year, 1899, a purged but politically adamant Socialist Labor party adopted a position similar to that of European "Impossibilists": it scorned any demands for reform under capitalism and called solely for the system's overthrow.

After 1900 DeLeon's SLP was a personality-dominated sect. DeLeon made his last bid for power on a national scale by popularizing the notion of industrial unionism through his influence in the Industrial Workers of the World, founded in 1905. Within his plan, shared by other syndicalistic Socialists, the workers would organize for the revolution industrially and politically, but would rule the post-

revolutionary government directly, through workers' councils. This plan eliminated the role of the State, regarded by reform-minded Socialists and later Leninist Communists alike to be a necessary tool in the transition period to communism. In 1908 the "anarcho-syndicalists" in the IWW, opposing all political entanglements even before the revolution, expelled DeLeon. Thereafter his union policy was followed only by a group of SLP unionists in the Detroit IWW, later called the Workers International Industrial Union, which practically disappeared as an organization after its unsuccessful role in the Paterson, New Jersey, strikes of 1911. In effect, the Socialist Labor party was reduced to political leafleting and election campaigning, utterly divorced from day-to-day struggles.

Yet DeLeon, a failure in the arena of mass politics, remained a deeply reversed leader within the ranks of the SLP and fraternal groups abroad. By virtue of his editorial role in the New York *Daily People* (which folded shortly before his death in 1914) and his public speeches, he remained even after his passing the basic provider of the ideas which bound together the SLP membership. While he lived, his ideas *were* those of the party, even when (as in 1905) they changed sharply to fit new conditions. Following his death, "Marxism-DeLeonism" became a fixed doctrine to be avowedly followed even by groups which split from the SLP to work for a "true DeLeonism."

In the last year of his life DeLeon entrusted the SLP leadership to Arnold Petersen as the new national secretary, a position Petersen held until his retirement in early 1969. Over the years Petersen proved well suited for the task of maintaining political stasis in the SLP and preventing any alteration in its doctrine. The minor internal crises the SLP has faced, from the Russian Revolution to the emergence of the New Left, seem to have been overcome without any serious challenges to his leadership, and factional groups have departed in small and localistic processions. One such group emerged in 1932 as the Industrial Union League (later Industrial Union party) with Sam Brandon as National Secretary and Charles Neuschotz as editor of its official organ, the *Industrial Unionist*.

The IUL, though quite obviously limited in its resources, attempted to put a DeLeonist program into action on a miniature scale. The United Furniture Workers of America, a radical union independent of both the AF of L and CIO, promulgated a constitution with a preamble almost identical to that of the original IWW preamble written largely by DeLeon in 1905. Moreover, the UFW of A

endorsed the *Industrial Unionist* as its official organ and had one of its leading figures, Carl P. Anderson, on the IUP executive committee. But like the militant Sailors' Union of the Pacific, the furniture workers' union could not survive the pressure of the great labor bodies as a small, autonomous group. Thus all that seemed to remain for the IUP (a faction of which was rechristened the Socialist Union party in 1939, after a political fragmentation) was a repetition of the function of the Socialist Labor party: DeLeonist propagandizing and analysis of world and national events.

After the worst of its factional fevers subsided, the new Socialist Union party evinced a determination to struggle within the existing unions for radical insurgencies and within the body politic for a revolutionary resistance to the coming war. This divergence from the practice of DeLeonism was probably stimulated by Abraham Ziegler, editor of the SUP organ *Labor Power*, a lawyer who had been expelled from the SLP and joined the Industrial Union party in the mid-thirties. Yet the participation in mass struggles was only a half-step, for *Labor Power* constantly affirmed its bitterness for the "reform" parties, *i.e.*, nearly all the other radical parties in the United States who called for substantive changes *within* capitalism before the revolution. And as the SUP believed the day-to-day battles of the workers generally useless and continued only because of ignorance, its participation must have had a cynical quality.

Certainly the pessimism, and implied cynicism, in *Labor Power* were not without objective cause in the real world. The problems of the Left by 1939 stood against any easy progress for a relatively small and doctrinaire radical group. Just as the early 1930s was marked by a great revolutionary hopefulness among Marxists, and a search by many for a revolutionary movement outside the Communist party, so the latter part of the decade was dominated by the rise of the CIO and the fight against fascism, which together drew attention from all Marxist groups except the Communist party. By 1939, the Communists were consolidating their rapidly growing membership, and the other groups stood together (only metaphorically, as internecine attacks proliferated) in a common shadow. The war seemed naturally to crowd out most other interests, and *Labor Power* gave many of its columns over to foreign policy matters, the outcome of which it could not possibly influence. Thus its impotence to do more than analyze events was underscored. It repeatedly lashed out at the leadership of the Socialist, Socialist Workers and Communist parties, imploring

the membership to come over to the SUP; needless to say, its appeals were not met with any noteworthy response.

For Ziegler himself, *Labor Power* was a way station to further advance beyond DeLeonist orthodoxy through the short-lived *Modern Socialism*, which managed a few issues in 1941 before he was inducted into the Army. For the rest of the group, *Labor Power* had been the means of expressing dissent and a political posture, in the same fashion that other politically isolated groups express themselves. Realistically, there was little if any chance to reach a mass audience, but the group found at least an opportunity for self-expression, presenting its program on the printed page. Thus the SUP did make itself heard for those who would listen, but its message had been bypassed by the actual organization of the CIO industrially and the consolidation of the Communist party politically. DeLeon's plan for the organization of industrial unions had finally met its historical rendezvous, leaving only scattered partisans to repeat his message again and again.

—PAUL BUHLE

Madison, Wisconsin, 1969

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST

Vol. 1, No. 1, New Series

May, 1939

I. U. P. BREAKS WITH SECTARIANISM

THE NEGRO PROBLEM

COMMUNIST PARTIES FOR SALE

MAY DAY, 1939

WAR AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

A. F. L.—C. I. O. UNITY FAILS AGAIN

CONVENTION NOTES

SEEING RED

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CONVENTION NOTES

The Emergency National Convention of the Industrial Union Party, which was called by Branch Bronx and endorsed by a majority of the Branches and of the Executive Committee, met in New York on Sunday, April 9th, 1939, at the National Headquarters. Sixty-five per cent. of the membership were represented either in person or by delegate.

The Convention proceeded to clear away the debris of a protracted internal struggle, which had halted the party's work, and to erect a foundation for a clean-cut and fighting proletarian party. Steps were taken to remedy past errors and place the organization on a firm theoretical and tactical base.

The first business before the body after its permanent organization was to deal with the situation created within the party by the purported expulsion of Branch Bronx by a rump session of the Executive Committee on March 29th. This typically bureaucratic move was engineered by the National Secretary, Sam Brandon, who, having been placed under charges in his Branch, was compelled to move quickly in order to maintain his control over the party machinery. Together with two confederates on the Executive Committee, he held a meeting without a quorum of the Executive Committee present, and took the action which precipitated the party crisis.

The Convention, after due deliberation, adopted unanimously, with three members abstaining, a resolution brought in by the Resolutions Committee which **condemned** Sam Brandon and his fellow conspirators for the perpetration of a series of unconstitutional and anti-organizational acts, by which they sought to maintain their control of the party apparatus and effect the continuation of their policies without the consent of the membership. Among the principal actions for which Sam Brandon and his aides were condemned, were:

1. Falsely declaring Sam Brandon re-elected to the post of National Secretary by one vote over his opponent, Abraham Ziegler, after Sam Brandon had received and opened all the ballots in advance of the official tabulation. As soon as the

tabulation of votes was released, it was immediately noted by Branch Minneapolis that the total credited to Ziegler from that Branch was one vote short of the number which had been sent in;

2. Ignoring the protest by Branch Minneapolis that the official tabulation failed to credit Ziegler with the Branch's correct total, except to launch an investigation into the private correspondence which had passed between Ziegler and the Organizer of Branch Minneapolis;

3. Refusing to call a new election, although requested to do so;

4. Refusing to seat duly elected Executive Committee members from Branch Minneapolis;

5. Arbitrarily ordering Branch Bronx to try and expel Executive Committeeman Schein for statements criticizing administration policies, during the election campaign in which Sam Brandon was seeking re-election;

6. Refusing Branch Bronx the right to appeal from this decision of the Executive Committee;

7. Refusing to send out for a referendum vote of the membership a declaration on Relief, submitted by Branch Bronx, which challenged the position of Sam Brandon and his supporters;

8. Holding a rump session of the Executive Committee and purporting to expel and reorganize Branch Bronx without a constitutional quorum.

The Convention proceeded to suspend Sam Brandon and his confederates from office and directed that formal charges be filed against them.

The following temporary national officers were elected, to serve until new elections can be held: National Secretary—Abraham Ziegler; Editorial Board—A. Levine, B. Robbins and H. Florman. The Executive Committee was implemented by the election of the following provisional members: H. Levy, H. Brandon, R. Schein, C. Sharon and J. Timmerman.

A new and more democratic constitution was submitted to the membership for discussion and action. Among its features was provision for the regular issuance of

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Editorials . . .

MAY DAY, 1939

As May 1st, the workers' own international holiday, approaches, it is startling to contrast the position of the workers on the first May Day, in 1886, with their position on May Day, 1939.

On that first May Day the organized workers in the United States went on strike to make known their demand that "8 hours shall constitute a legal day's work." Three years later the Second International declared May 1st an international labor holiday, dedicated to the solidarity of the working class of all nations.

May Day, 1886, was greeted in Chicago, center of the movement for the 8 hour day, with hysterical anti-labor headlines in the press; police and Pinkerton finks were breaking picket lines and smashing the strikers' heads; capital was united in its determination to prevent the workers from winning their demands. On the third day of the strike, pickets were shot at by the police, six being killed. The next day thousands of Chicago workers gathered in Haymarket Square to protest the outrage. Toward the end of the meeting, which had been peaceful and orderly, a squadron of police marched into the square and ordered the remaining listeners to disperse. A bomb exploded and the police opened fire on the crowd.

For the next few days a reign of terror ensued. All the known labor militants were arrested. Seven of them were railroaded to their death by a prejudiced court. This was the tragic result of the first May Day struggle; seven militants murdered; intimidated workers lost most of the gains they had made; the Knights of Labor, chief workingmen's organization of the time, suffered a large drop in membership; the industrialists who had been forced to grant the 8 hour day withdrew the concession with only half-hearted resistance from the unions. The first May Day ended in defeat, but only after heroic struggle.

On May 1st, fifty-three years ago, capitalism was expanding. There was no permanent army of disemployed. The West was still capable of absorbing those discontented with their lot in the East. The American labor movement, crude and unschooled in the class struggle, was just beginning to grow. Socialism was a more or less vague Utopia discussed mostly in German by those who had fled Bismarck's anti-Socialist laws. The first world-wide imperialist war was yet to come. Business crises were only temporary lulls from which capital soon recovered to go forward to new heights of "prosperity."

But although the American labor movement was young and capitalism was still expanding, the workers on strike that first May Day understood full well who was their enemy. They knew who had hired the scabs, who had smashed their picket lines, who controlled the police and the courts. That their enemy was at home was a fact no worker would think of denying. When the Socialist International proclaimed May 1st an international holiday for labor, by the same token it declared that the only war in which labor is concerned is the struggle against its exploiters and oppressors. That the Second International's chief spokesman betrayed their principles when the crucial moment came in 1914, and became Social Patriots, supporting the war policies of their respective countries, does not alter the basic truth of those principles. We cannot erase the errors and betrayals of the past, but

we should learn from them never to be deceived in the same way again.

May Day, 1939 finds the workers faced with the specter of a far more catastrophic defeat than that of 1886. This day, born in the class struggle and celebrated as a symbol of the unity of the working class against the capitalist class, is being used by the new betrayers of labor to hog-tie the workers to the enemy, to stir up the workers by jingo propaganda to fight their fellow workers in other lands under the false slogan of "Stop Fascism." That the enemy at home still builds company unions; that he still owns the police and the judges; that he still hires stool pigeons and finks to smash labor; that he never ceases trying to break up the workers' organizations and to regiment them under the control of the government are facts that being covered up by those who would hand over the workers to act as cannon fodder for their exploiters.

It is not Hitler who fires the W. P. A. workers; it was not Mussolini who declared labors powerful weapon, the sit-down, illegal; the Mikado signs no injunctions to break strikes. *The enemy is still at home.*

The stakes in 1939 are infinitely greater than in 1886. Then the issue was the reduction of the working day to 8 hours. The defeat they suffered cost the workers a few leaders and set back the labor movement a few years. Today the issue is civilization or barbarism. The workers face the loss of all their rights, attained through years of struggle, as well as the destruction of their organizations.

The prospect ahead for capitalism is war, greater impoverishment of the masses, increased insecurity for all humanity and the obliteration of all the progressive conquests of civilization through the centuries by the imposition of fascist dictatorships everywhere. Against this frightful menace, the only hope of the workers is to uproot the basic cause of these miseries—the capitalist system and the private ownership of the means of production on which it is based. By erecting a classless society in which the resources and manpower available are used to produce for the common good, the

workers will abolish the insecurity which is the foundation for the greed, hatreds and jealousies which rule the capitalist world.

Socialism or Fascism—these are the alternatives that face the working class on May Day, 1939. Either forward to peace, abundance and security or backward to war, chaos and anarchy.

In the true spirit of May Day, and in line with the crying need of the hour, the Industrial Union Party calls upon the American working class to build and maintain its unity and solidarity *against* the forces of capital. The enemy is still at home and *he can be beaten.*

FOR THE UNITY OF LABOR
AGAINST THE EXPLOITERS!

UNYIELDING OPPOSITION TO
IMPERIALIST WAR!

FIGHT FASCISM BY ABOLISHING
CAPITALISM!

ALL POWER TO THE SOCIALIST
INDUSTRIAL UNION!

SOCIALISM IS THE ONLY ROAD
TO PEACE AND SECURITY!

WAR AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The attempts by President Roosevelt to associate the imperialist designs of American capitalism with a crusade for democracy and the fight against fascism have caught many in the net of its specious argument. Unquestionably more workers would be willing to take up arms against Germany today than were prepared to do so last year. The armaments appropriations and M-Day legislation is pushed through Congress by the war mongers with a minimum of discussion and practically no opposition, for the capitalist class has prepared the working class psychologically by drumming away at the theme that stopping fascism and fighting a second World War are synonymous tasks.

The INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST has repeatedly shown that the coming second World War like the blood-bath of 1914-1918, will be fought solely to protect the profits of the capitalist class. While Roosevelt shouts, "I hate war," and cries forth righteously for "democracy," he has prepared the machinery to destroy

civil liberties the moment that war is declared. Under the provisions of the administration-sponsored Industrial Mobilization Bill, the onset of war will find the United States under the totalitarian military dictatorship with leading capitalists in a special war cabinet at the head of the nation.

There will be no free speech, no free assembly, no free press, and no free thought. Strikes will be prohibited. John L. Lewis and William Green have already signified their willingness to kowtow to governmental control of the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. The recent attempts of the Department of Labor to unify the two organizations by taking the initiative in the call for a conference can only be understood as preparatory steps to such control. Anna O'Hara McCormick's comment, after an interview with the President, that his interest in unifying labor organizations in America was part of his foreign policy, then becomes understandable.

Under the M plan, picked groups of "responsible citizens" will decide locally whether a worker shall be sent to the front or retained in industry. During the Senate Munitions Investigation, it was disclosed that the framers of the bill intended to have militant trade unionists, aggressive pacifists and revolutionary socialists, whom they placed in the all-inclusive category of "trouble-makers" sent to the front lines first. The whole country will be tagged by the War Department for service in the trenches or behind the lines. The decisive power given to the local boards in determining who shall be drafted for overseas duty will mean that "the nation's man power will become the enslaved tools of a comparatively small group of men comprising the draft boards. Preference in the type of service to be rendered will be purchased at the price of docility and . . . maximum usefulness to employers. . . . Large scale individual favor seeking from employers and politicians must unavoidably give rise to a nation of spies and informers." (*M-Day*, by Rose M. Stein, secretary to the Senate Munitions Committee.)

All these precautions have been taken

beforehand, because, as Tom Girdler observed, "We have seen the effects of war as written in social, economic, and political upheaval since 1918." The capitalist class knows that the whole structure of its society is so weak that the declaration of war may easily lead to revolutionary situations in every land. Chamberlain's appeasement policy was motivated by this fear. In explanation of Munich, Ferdinand Kuhn, Jr., *New York Times* correspondent, cabled that, "Mr. Chamberlain and his colleagues . . . are not so sure that the men and the system that have ruled the country for so many years would still be ruling it when the war was over." Whether by appeasement or by a "stop Hitler" movement, the first thought in the minds of the capitalist leaders is the preservation of their system, capitalism. While appeasement may serve for some months, the insatiable thirst of capitalism for markets, the disproportion between the productive capacity of the machine and the consuming power of the masses, ultimately pushes the capitalist system to war.

In spite of the wide spread political backwardness of the American working class in evaluating social, political and economic problems, the experience of the last war is too recent to be easily erased. It is this, rather than any profound understanding of the causes of war, which keeps the American proletariat from rushing to support a "war against fascism." Though the American working class has shown a virile hostility toward fascists, the "democratic" slogans of the last war have made it cynical about any nobility of purpose that war-mongers might pretend.

Their political backwardness crystallizes their anti-war sentiment in the support of schemes like the Ludlow Amendment, the utopian isolation policies, steeply graduated taxes on war profits, and so forth. On occasion it takes the form of anti-semitism. Thus last month in Philadelphia, Major-General George Van Horn Moseley, retired crack-pot, who received notoriety some time ago for advocating the burning of Washington, D. C., attacked Roosevelt for his war mongering, pointing out the discrepancy between the

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I.U.P. BREAKS WITH SECTARIANISM

AFTER a protracted internal struggle which consumed the time and energies of the membership for more than a year, the constructive and progressive elements within the Industrial Union Party scored a complete victory for their policies at the Emergency National Convention of the I.U.P. which met at New York on April 9th, 1939. The policies and theoretical conceptions of the old administration, which had driven the I.U.P. into a position of isolation from the mainstream of the American working class movement were completely repudiated by the Convention, and the basis was laid for active participation by the party membership in the struggles of the workers, employed and unemployed, against the onslaughts of the capitalist class.

The Convention reaffirmed the basic principles upon which the Industrial Union Party was formed; first, uncompromising opposition to reformism, which creates the illusion in the minds of the workers that their condition can be improved under capitalism and also makes them dependent upon the capitalist state and on degenerate capitalist politicians instead of relying upon their own independent organization in opposition to capitalism; and second, the necessity of the workers organizing their economic strength into Socialist Industrial Unions with the goal of overthrowing the present order and establishing the Union as the administrative organ of the Socialist Industrial Republic.

On the other hand, the Convention marked a complete reorientation of the I.U.P.'s tactical program in line with the actual conditions existing in the United States, taking into account the political backwardness of the American workers. The false analysis of the nature of the class struggle upon which previous policies were based was completely rejected as leading directly to the withdrawal of the Party from practically all activity in the labor movement. At the convention a spirit of critical self-examination was manifested, which sought to find and correct the theoretical errors which had

led to the Party's incorrect and sectarian policies. In this the Convention heeded the well-known dictum of Marx:

"Proletarian revolutions . . . criticize themselves constantly; constantly interrupt themselves in their own course; come back to what seems to have been accomplished, in order to start over anew; scorn with cruel thoroughness the half-measures, weaknesses and meannesses of their first attempts . . ."

* * *

One of the basic errors into which the I.U.P. had fallen was the failure to realize that the working class can become aware of the necessity of overthrowing the present capitalist system only as a result of its experiences and the lessons learned in the actual daily struggles against the capitalist class and its agent, the political government. The workers will never become revolutionary as a result of hearing Socialist agitators denounce the present order or paint glowing pictures of a better one; nor will the workers adopt the most correct of theoretical programs as long as they have not been prepared by their loss of faith in capitalism, a condition which has not yet eventuated. In view of these facts, it is the task of the revolutionist to participate, as a worker, side by side with his fellow workers, in their common daily struggles against the capitalist class. More than this, he must use his Socialist understanding to point out to his fellow workers the nature of the struggle in which they are engaged, the best means of conducting it, the lessons of every defeat or victory, and the inevitable necessity of overthrowing capitalism if their problem is finally to be solved. This is a policy based on the Marxist concept of the class struggle as a dynamic process of movement, activity and growth; it is completely the reverse of the policy hitherto pursued, which was based upon the academic abstraction of the class struggle from reality, and which consisted in carrying on propaganda solely through study classes, lectures, street-corner agitation and the dissemination of the party's literature. Without denying the usefulness of

these means of spreading the Party's message, it is undeniable that they are utterly incapable of reaching the masses of workers and preparing them for the critical tasks before them.

In terms of the party's program, this change of attitude means that the I.U.P. recognizes that the reactionary policies and leadership of the existing unions, the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. are only a reflection of the backwardness of the American workers and that unions with really progressive leadership and principles will arise only as the workers realize, in the course of their struggles, that their present setup is inadequate to cope with their problems. Small model unions, built on theoretically correct principles, cannot attract the workers, and serve only to withdraw and isolate the militants from the main body of the workers who need their guidance. Therefore the I.U.P. urges the necessity of every revolutionist entering the existing union of his industry or occupation, or, if he is unemployed, an organization to protect the interests of those on relief, and there working to raise the political consciousness of the workers by attaining the respect and confidence of his fellow workers as a result of his activities in their behalf.

While the I.U.P. holds that the task of the revolutionist today is to work within the existing unions, it will support any genuine-mass revolt of the workers against the reactionary leadership of the A.F. of L. or the C.I.O., provided that such revolt is the expression of the progressive movement of the workers and is not a mere squabble between leaders for control over the workers.

* * *

A second error of the old administration was its failure to understand the nature of the class struggle. According to the conception expressed by their chief spokesman, (see the article "On 'Waging the Class Struggle'" by C. Neuschotz in the March, 1939 issue of the *INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST*.) the class struggle is "a conflict over the duration and intensity of surplus labor time," and that alone. This formulation was purely an invention devised by the administration to justify the position that the party need

not support the struggles of the unemployed for relief, on the ground that such struggles were not a part of the general class conflict in society. Under this definition the fight against war, which has been one of the most important issues before the workers for the past 30 years, could not be considered as a real working class issue; and in fact, when this point was raised, Neuschotz, Sam Brandon and Company actually took the position that the fight against war was not a part of the general opposition of the workers to their masters, who seek to use them as cannon fodder to advance capitalism's imperialist designs. Incidentally, another theoretical falsehood which the supporters of the old administration were compelled to invent to justify their refusal to support the struggles of the unemployed, was their position that the unemployed are not to be considered as members of the working class, but as declassed elements in society, in a similar category with menials, thieves, beggars and prostitutes.

The Convention, in rejecting these fabrications, proceeded on the accepted Marxist definition that the class struggle is a conflict between the wills of the contending classes over the conditions of existence sought to be imposed by one class upon the other. This conflict may take place on the political or the economic fields, or in any of the existing institutions, such as the press, the radio, the schools, the churches, etc. The article "On 'Waging the Class Struggle'" was repudiated as not expressing the position of the Industrial Union Party. Contrary to the stand taken in that article, the I.U.P. pledges its support to all struggles carried on by the unemployed against the capitalist state for more relief, or against cuts in relief, always reserving to itself the right to criticize any false policies or illusions to which the unemployed may fall victim.

* * *

A third error of the I.U.P. under its old administration was its formulation of a political program solely on the basis of objective conditions, which admittedly are ripe for Socialism, without at the same time giving consideration to the subjective factor—the political maturity of the

working class. Thus, every issue which arose had an easy answer: "Organize politically and industrially for Socialism and this problem will be solved." Instead of using each issue as a springboard from which to set the workers into motion in opposition to capitalism, by pointing out how workers should proceed to cope with their problem, the old administration, except on very rare occasions, was content to give the stereotyped answer, which provided the workers with no concrete political directives.

The future policy to be pursued by the party will be to examine each concrete problem or issue as it arises, to encourage those actions by the workers in dealing with the question which are progressive, in that they tend to heighten the militancy and class consciousness of the workers, and to oppose those actions which tend to heighten the faith and illusions of the workers in capitalism or in the state.

In connection with this, we likewise deny the erroneous view that the only progress possible in the working class movement is the realization by the workers of the need for revolution. Every action by which the solidarity and militancy of the workers is furthered is a step nearer the goal of Socialism. The refusal of the old administration to admit this caused it to denounce the C.I.O. as nothing more than a vertical copy of the faker-ridden A.F. of L., whereas the actual fact was that this very vertical organization had succeeded in achieving the unity and solidarity of millions of workers whom the A.F. of L. could never have organized on the craft basis. The party's false position on the C.I.O. which precluded any real activity on the part of the membership within that organization in its formative period cost us dearly in our failure to reach thousands of workers who might have been reached with the message of Socialism.

Among the many other false concepts which the Emergency Convention by its actions repudiated were the idea that the only working class organizations existent are those which accept revolutionary principles, which would limit the working class movement to the ranks of the I.U.P.

itself, in the view of those who put forward the idea; and the concept that all members of the party must have a single mind, which expressed itself in the searching cross-examination of applicants for membership to determine whether they accepted without reservation every single tactical policy adopted by the party in addition to their agreement with its program.

All of these errors and sins of commission and omission have had a disastrous effect in preventing the growth of the I.U.P. at a time when the capitalist world is in crisis and when the field was never more fertile for the propagation of the principles of Socialism. Recognizing this fact, the Emergency Convention has not hesitated to break with the sectarian and isolationist position of the past. The party will continue to re-examine critically every phase of its tactics and to correct every position in which it is found in error.

In the future the Industrial Union Party will fly the standard of living, revolutionary Socialism, its tactics based on the class struggle. We call upon all class conscious workers to join our ranks and carry on the vital task of proletarian emancipation.

Peace, It's Wonderful! The Federal government has just awarded a contract to the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company for a gas mask production plant and an undisclosed number of masks. Contracts totaling \$763,632 have been given out by the War Department for cotton, bandage and gauze.

Where they differ. Speaking on the 1940 presidential campaign, Rep. Bruce Barton, bright boy of the Republican party, announced, "No, the issue will not be foreign affairs. It will not be the reforms of the New Deal The issue will be very simple: Do the people want to re-elect an administration that for six years has kept 11 million men and women out of work?" Since the Republican party will not be able to put these 11 millions back to work either, the issue boils down to "throw them out and let us have their jobs."

THE NEGRO PROBLEM

WITHIN the past two months, state legislative commissions on the Conditions of the Urban Negro Population in New York and New Jersey have released the results of their investigations. Both reports reveal the prevalence of widespread discrimination against the negro populations of the two states, and contain a wealth of material illustrating the gross inequalities in the treatment of negroes in the fields of employment, housing, education and recreation.

As to employment, the negro is virtually barred from "white collar" work, and his services are confined principally to menial, heavy, unskilled labor at the lowest wage rates. Moreover, for a given type of work the negro is paid less than his white fellow wage slave. In the field of housing, segregation is practiced as rigorously in the "enlightened" North as in the "backward" South. The negro workers and their families are crowded into small areas, while the higher rents which are charged negroes are an additional reason for the crowding, since two or more negro families are often compelled to live together in a single apartment. In education, the negro is frequently barred from the institutions of higher learning under one pretext or another, while those who are permitted to attend are hounded. Finally, the recreational and health facilities of negro communities are notoriously inferior to those prevailing in white districts. The Federal, state and municipal governments are exposed in the reports as vicious practitioners of racial discrimination in the W. P. A., in handing out relief, and in granting civil service employment.

In short, the negro finds himself treated as a second-class citizen in every field of activity.

The report of the New York Legislative Commission strikingly reveals the complete incapacity of existing legal machinery to cope with the negro problem. Seventy years after the adoption of the 14th and 15th amendments to the Federal Constitution, which legally guaranteed equal civil rights to the negro, and despite innumerable laws on the statute books

purporting to protect these rights, the negro still continues to be a subject caste. During this long period since the American Civil War, capitalism in America has had the widest opportunity and the fullest power to abolish racial inequalities. Instead, race discrimination has become more pronounced than ever before. In the face of the failure of the state civil rights laws and the Federal Constitutional amendments to protect the negroes, the Legislative Commission has no better remedy to propose than new laws of the same type. There is no reason to believe that these will be more effective than previous legislation.

The plight of the negro does not arise because laws are lacking which, if put into effect, would abolish prejudice and discrimination against them. The negro problem, like the Jewish problem and the questions of all minorities, has its root in economics—in the capitalist system of production, under which the ruling class seeks to gain profits by every means available, fair or foul. The capitalist class not only takes advantage of the traditional prejudice against the negroes in the South, but fosters race prejudice and inequalities everywhere, to divide the ranks of the workers so that it may more easily exploit them. On the other hand, the willingness of many workers to follow the lead of their masters in discriminating against those whom they label "inferior," arises out of their competition to live, in a world where no security exists.

As the effects of race discrimination against the negroes become more and more manifest, even the apologists for capitalism are compelled to admit the economic basis of the problem. Senator Schwartzwald and Assemblyman Andrews, Chairman and Vice Chairman, respectively, of the N. Y. Legislative Commission, in a joint statement issued with the summary of the Commission's report, conceded frankly that "... No successful attacks can be made on the secondary problems of New York's negro citizens until the basic handicap of inadequate income is removed."

Quite significantly, the Commission did not attempt to deal with this important is-

sue in its report, beyond making a pious suggestion that public opinion be aroused to the seriousness of the problem. This was no accidental omission. The commission and its members were incapable of proposing any real program for overcoming the "basic handicap of inadequate income," which affects not only negroes but all workers under capitalism. Capitalism will never pay "adequate" wages to its workers, for that would mean the end of all profits, and therefore of its very existence. By omitting to answer the question of how to provide the "adequate income" the Commission admits that the problem of negro discrimination cannot be solved within the framework of capitalist property relations.

On the other hand, if the Commission's reasoning were incorrect and it were actually possible to abolish the color line and to achieve complete social and economic equality of the negro, the overwhelming majority of the colored population would still be suffering, as members of the working class, from the "basic handicap of inadequate income" while capitalism continued to exist.

This, then, is the problem of the negro: in relation to the white worker, the negro is doubly exploited, first because he is a worker, and secondly because he is a negro. In addition to this economic super-exploitation, the negro is also the victim of social and legal discrimination of every description. Thus, while it is true that the negro problem is part and parcel of the basic social question, it is at the same time a dis-

tinct subdivision requiring special consideration.

The negro workers must wage a constant struggle, while capitalism exists, against inequalities and discrimination. But in fighting the battle they must depend on their own efforts in co-operation with the rest of the working class, and not on capitalist politicians.

It is true, unfortunately, that there exist labor organizations which play into the hands of the capitalist exploiters by either openly or indirectly excluding negro workers from their ranks. Labor organizations that pursue such anti-labor tactics strike at their own vitals by creating involuntary scabs.

Labor unions should open their books to all workers, regardless of race, color or creed, as an act of elementary workers' solidarity. Labor unions should strenuously oppose all racial discriminations practiced by employers against union members. In doing so a powerful spirit of class solidarity will be created that no amount of ruling class guile can disintegrate.

The final solution of the negro problem, as with all the other subsidiary problems of capitalism, lies in the abolition of class rule. It is only when man lives in peace and security that the basis for such evils as race hatred, intolerance and discrimination can disappear. The Industrial Union Party appeals to all serious-minded, thinking negro workers to break with capitalism and to join its ranks to carry on the fight side by side with their white fellow workers for the establishment of the classless Socialist society. —A. ZIEGLER

COMMUNIST PARTIES FOR SALE

SURROUNDED by two thousand adoring sycophants who hailed him as "the genius of working mankind," "the father of all working people," Joseph Stalin delivered the opening address before the 18th Congress of the Russian Communist Party in the Great Hall of the Kremlin at Moscow. His speech covered a variety of topics, ranging from an analysis of the present world situation to an exhortation to the Russian workers to love the bureau-

crats. On the following days of the Congress, Manuisky, Molotov and others echoed the line laid down.

The sum total of all the speeches reveals once more that the Russian Communist Party does not think or act in terms of the interests of the workers of the world but is guided purely by the needs of the Soviet Union in playing the game of imperialist diplomacy. They prove conclusively, therefore, that the Communist International,

which is absolutely dominated by Stalin, is not an International devoted to propagandizing and organizing the workers throughout the world for the overthrow of capitalism, but is in fact only a sort of subsidiary organ of the Foreign Office of the Soviet Union; that the various Communist Parties in the different countries are in reality only enlarged versions of the "Friends of the Soviet Union" which the Soviet Union uses for trading purposes just as it does oil or wheat; and that the strategy and tactics of these Communist Parties are based, not on attaining the goal of Socialism, but on shaping the attitude of the different capitalist nations towards the Soviet Union.

* * *

It is well known that ever since the 7th World Congress of the Comintern in 1935 the Communist Parties have been spreading the poisonous falsehood, fostered by the "democratic" capitalist nations, that the world is divided into "peaceful" nations who are at the mercy of the aggressors, and "war-like" nations, whose onslaughts must be stopped in order to "preserve democracy." It was on the basis of this false analysis that the Communists were in the forefront of the proponents of Collective Security; it was on the same basis that they postponed indefinitely the struggle for Socialism in favor of promoting a war for the benefit of the "democratic" imperialists. In view of these facts, it is interesting to see what the great theoreticians of the Kremlin had to say at their 18th Congress about the impending war.

It will be "... a question of a new re-division of the world, of spheres of influence, and colonies by military action," declared Stalin. "... The imperialist claims of the fascist vultures meet the resistance of certain capitalist states [democratic vultures?—Ed. Bd.] and a considerable section of the ruling classes..." stated Manuilsky. And these certain capitalist states, are they concerned with fighting fascism or are they, too, motivated by imperialist ambitions? "The United States of America, the biggest capitalist nation in the world... [is] defending its interests in Latin American countries," answers Manuilsky.

"... The imperialist robbers convert their slaves into cannon fodder for their wars of plunder," he adds later.

You see, Messrs. the Bureaucrats still repeat the lessons they learned in the school of Marxism. They still know it is the capitalist system that causes war; that all capitalist nations are imperialist; that the workers are compelled to shoulder rifles for the benefit of their plunderers; and that the democratic capitalists fight, not *against fascism* but for their own colonies and spheres of influence. Yet in spite of this knowledge, the Stalinists have announced to the democratic vultures that they will act as their recruiting agents so long as the offensive is against the fascist nations, and so long as it steers clear of the borders of Russia.

Sprinkled throughout the addresses at the 18th Congress were warnings to the democratic capitalists that if they do not accept the services of the Communist Parties, then the Communists will change their program again. "The policy of betrayal pursued by the men at Munich hastens the maturing among the masses of the idea of storming capitalism." This statement by Manuilsky, which was made before the events of March compelled Chamberlain and Daladier to halt their policies of "appeasing" Hitler, implies that if these politicians continued to lead Hitler eastward in the direction of the Ukraine, the Soviet Union would instruct the British and French Communist Parties to abandon the idea of the Popular Front.

"You're not playing fair with us," whined the bureaucracy. "We stopped telling the workers that you are slaveholders; we paint you as respectable, peace-loving democrats; and we instruct our agents to induce the workers to fight for you if you oppose Italy, Germany and Japan. We have traded the revolution for your support. You have accepted our services without giving anything in return. If you don't make friends with us soon, we'll tell our comrades to take out the red flag again and make trouble for you at home."

As if in preparation for the new line, Manuilsky warned his listeners that "certain tendencies of a rightist nature" must

be fought, particularly "the tendency to idealize the role of the so-called democratic states and of glossing over their imperialist nature." The events of March and April, which compelled Great Britain and France to call upon the Soviet Union for aid in the campaign to "stop Hitler" will no doubt act as a convenient excuse for Manuilsky himself, as well as the rest of the Stalinist clique once again to "idealize" the role of their capitalist allies and to "gloss over their imperialist nature."

Yes, the 18th Congress proved conclusively that the function of the Communist Parties is to use their influence in the working class not for the purpose of organizing the class struggle against capitalism, but as a commodity with which Stalin may bargain in dealing with the imperialists. "Communist Parties for sale," hawk the Soviet bureaucrats to the capitalist nations. "Who'll buy our Communist Parties for a little collective security."

—BARNEY ROBBINS

ANTI-SEMITISM AND ITS SOLUTION

EVENTS in the Nazi empire have propelled the Jewish Question into the limelight where it glares like an ugly sore. As the wave of anti-Semitism surges onward, Jews all over the world are asking themselves, "Which way out?" Young and old repeat the age-chanted prayer:

"Sh'ma Yisroel Adonoy Eloheinu Adonoy Echod.

Boruch shem k'vod malchuso l'olom voed."

For thousands of years that has been the cry of Israel as they who pride themselves on being the chosen race have intoned to their Lord Jehovah:

"Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One.

Praised be His name whose glorious kingdom is forever and ever."

Unfortunately, however, prayers have availed nought and so the Jew still puts on his prayer shawls and goes to the synagogue in every land to pray for the coming of the Messiah. And to most Jews this seems the only thing to hope for, as one after another his dreams of peace and tranquility are shattered. Right after the World War, an impetus was given to the Jewish nationalists when Great Britain established a mandate in Jerusalem and made arrangements for the building of a Jewish homeland. Persecuted and unfortunate Jews from many lands seized the opportunity to migrate to Palestine where they sought to establish a Jewish state.

Before very long they discovered that instead of running away from anti-Semitism, they had brought it along with them and in a few years the Holy Land was ablaze with

religious warfare as the Jews and the Arabs fought to protect their interests. And once again what seemed to be an escape proved to be only illusory.

In Germany the Jews have repeatedly suffered as the wave of anti-Semitism rose and subsided. As economic conditions became acute, the Jew was singled out as the culprit. That this was no isolated instance is proven by the use of the same tactics in Czarist Russia. There, too, the peasants were incited to reek vengeance on the Jew as the cause of their poverty. It was a base scheme to take their minds off the true cause of their privations.

Meanwhile the leading Jews are retreating from one false premise to another. The world-wide depression, which naturally spurred on the movement for the overthrow of the capitalist system, also served to bring the Jew into odium. Where the Jewish bankers were not blamed for the collapse of the profit system, Jewish radicals were selected for the abuse of the hirelings of capital. So much was this stressed that only recently it had its counterpart in the formation of a Jewish organization purporting to be opposed to Fascism and Socialism. In such manner do some of the leading Jews hope to curry favor with the oppressors of their race.

It is strange indeed, that these people have not learned anything from history. In Germany, past Jewish leaders adopted the same tactics—yet they failed dismally in their hopes to buy immunity for themselves by licking the boots of those who trod on them. The present movement will fail for the same reason that other move-

ments of like character have failed—because they do not reach anywhere near the root of the problem.

The solution to the Jewish problem was found by Karl Marx nearly a century ago.

It was Marx who analyzed present day society and pointed out the path to be followed to rid ourselves of present-day ills. It was Marx who showed that so long as production for profit prevails, the human race would continue to be slaves of a chosen few and that the longer capitalism existed the more frightful it would become to its victims.

The Jewish Question cannot be solved within the shell of capitalist society. Only when the exploitation of labor is a thing of the past will the Jewish problem cease to agitate human minds. And that this is not mere theory or rhetoric is proven by the status of the Jew in present-day Russia. Russia—which at one time was the most oppressive country on the face of the globe for the downtrodden Jew—has today wiped out all vestiges of anti-Semitism. It has done so in an indirect manner by ridding itself of capitalist exploitation.

The Jewish Question is thus inextricably

entwined with the Labor Question. As long as class divisions remain the dominant feature of society, racial hatred and propaganda of this sort will continue to be a tool in the hands of the oppressors—a tool to keep labor divided and confused. If it is not the Jew who is selected to be the victim, then it will be the negro or the Chinese, or the Japanese—whomever happens to fill the bill more capably.

The Jewish workers must get rid of the illusion that if they can somehow build a Jewish homeland their troubles will come to an end. They must not forget that the struggle between workers and capitalists goes on even in Palestine. The way out for the victims of Anti-Semitism is to join forces with the movement for proletarian emancipation in their own Countries. A victory over capitalism means the end of those conditions which breed hatreds and jealousies between peoples; it means the establishment of a social order under which men can live peacefully side by side, assured of the plenitude of products which society can turn out. The Jewish workers must do their part to achieve this.

A.F. OF L.—C.I.O. UNITY FAILS AGAIN

FOR the second time in two years, failure has attended conferences between C.I.O. and A.F. of L. officials, held with a view towards laying a basis for unity between the two organizations.

John L. Lewis, leader of the C.I.O. and Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A.F. of L., reached a decision on April 4th to halt further conferences between representatives of their respective organizations until some "mutually satisfactory date in the future." In an interview with the press, following this announcement, Lewis emphasized the fact that he and Woll had "easily agreed" to the postponement. From the maneuvers which attended this second attempt at unity, it is clear that the workers can place no faith in the rival officials, who have proven themselves incapable or unwilling to settle their differences and of their own accord to bring to an end the present sorry state of disunity in the ranks of the organized workers.

All through the past three years of strife between the two organizations, one hopeful sign was the almost constant pressure which the rank and file in both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. exerted on their leadership to negotiate for unity. This was evidence of the fact that the American workers have become aware that they have a common class interest and that they must unite to resist their common enemy, the capitalist class. They understand very well that the division in labor's ranks has cost them dearly, not only in weakening their resistance before the onslaughts of the employers, but also in undermining the spirit of working class solidarity.

The continual mutual recriminations between the two sets of officials as well as the state of open warfare which exists in many areas between competing unions in the same industry and which has led to the now almost commonplace practice of one union scabbing on another—all

this has resulted in even more concrete harm to the workers than the disruption of their unity and solidarity. It has given the ever-alert political representatives of the employers' interests an excuse to introduce the most reactionary and vicious anti-labor legislation which has as its aim the regimenting of the workers, and the limitation of the hard-won rights of labor. The endorsement of the anti-picketing bill by the Oregon voters at the last election can unquestionably be laid to the demoralization among workers engendered by the jurisdictional squabbles between the supporters of Dave Beck, A.F. of L. czar in the Northwest, and the followers of Harry Bridges, West Coast C.I.O. director.

The internecine warfare between the rival organizations did not cease even when the call for a unity conference came and was accepted by both sides. The quarrels which were then in progress continued, and new ones were begun, many on a national scale. On February 13th, the A.F. of L. announced that it was preparing to battle C.I.O. unions in coal and automobiles. William Green, A.F. of L. President, stated that the Progressive Miners of America would attempt to secure recognition from 250 coal operators as soon as the industry's contract with Lewis's United Mine Workers expired on March 31st. In the automobile industry, the A.F. of L. followed close upon the factional fight which split the auto workers with the offer of a charter to Homer Martin's group, which is antagonistic to the C.I.O. The revived United Textile Workers, once expelled for joining the C.I.O. has been rechartered and plans have been formulated for fighting the C.I.O. in textiles and hosiery. It is the height of irony that funds received from the toil of millions of workers should be expended in fighting other millions of their own class, thus helping to weaken all the workers before the united attacks of the employers.

Further evidence need not be given to show the disastrous effects of the three years of labor disunity upon the working class; that there exists a crying need for unity of the workers is undebatable. But it is not immediately apparent why the

capitalist class and the politicians should be interested in labor unity. Yet they are. While at first blush it would appear that the owners of industry have most to gain from labor disunity, the fact is that they were the initiators, through the government, of the call for the late A.F. of L.—C.I.O. conference. Why they took such an unorthodox attitude, and what kind of labor "unity" they would like to see are questions worth looking into.

Late in February, President Roosevelt addressed letters to "Dear Bill" Green and "My dear John" Lewis, requesting that committees be appointed immediately to negotiate a peace agreement between their organizations. The President's personal interest in the matter is not hard to understand; as one of the most astute politicians in the United States, Roosevelt was not averse to taking up the popular issue of unity and making himself the standard bearer of the movement. But far more important a consideration than the personal prestige to be gained by this move was his desire to appease big business, which has been crying for six years that the New Deal is ruining the country.

Roosevelt is well aware that the jurisdictional disputes between the quarreling unions are costly luxuries for the capitalist class. In order to make profits the capitalists must be assured of an uninterrupted flow of goods in and out of the factories. Labor disputes, whether they be jurisdictional fights between unions, or direct fights with the employers, have the effect of tying up production. Hence the interest of the owners of industry and the would-be saviors of the profit system in achieving labor unity. President Roosevelt was only echoing their wishes when he issued his call to a conference to Green and Lewis.

Most important of all the aspects of this interest of the employers and the politicians in seeing labor united, is the kind of "unity" they would like to see. That is best described by pointing to the kind of labor unity which exists in Germany under Hitler, or in Italy under Mussolini. The capitalists would like nothing better than to have the workers united in one vast reactionary, bureaucratically-operated union, where leader-

ship can be depended upon to keep the workers in hand.

It must be remembered that we are living in the crisis period of capitalism. The United States, under Roosevelt, is preparing to go to war to protect and extend its far-flung imperialist interests. Such a war is inevitable; the world crisis finds competition among the capitalist powers for foreign markets grown to such intensity that the only thing which can possibly prevent the outbreak of a new world-wide holocaust is the proletarian revolution.

The Roosevelt administration is taking no back seat in the war preparations now going forward in every capitalist country. Hundreds of millions of dollars are being spent in a gigantic armaments program. Plans are perfected to mobilize industry in preparation for still greater production of war materials upon the outbreak of war. But that is not enough. Labor might be mobilized and regimented before the nation is really in a position to wage war properly. Far more important than the workers who will be shipped abroad to shed their blood for "democracy" are the workers who will be left behind to man the industries. No supplies, no food, no ammunition, no equipment, no transportation, mean no victory. Here, in a nutshell, we have the principal reason for the President's anxiety to see labor united. Once the workers of the nation are regimented into one dictatorially-controlled union, the capitalist class need fear no interruption in the production so vital to the carrying on of their war.

The workers must achieve unity—but not the kind of unity sought for by their exploiters! Rather, they must unite their forces on the basis of rank and file democracy and elimination of the present labor mis-leadership. The reactionary bureaucracies heading both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. have exposed themselves in the past few years as being guided only by their own selfish interest, totally oblivious to the needs of the workers. The officialdom of both groups are guilty of having led their unions into battle against each other, thus violating the fundamental principle of labor solidarity. They have

caused workers to scab on workers and they have disgraced the labor movement with their disgusting mutual recriminations. They are the real bar to progressive labor unity today.

It is the need of the hour that a nationwide movement for unity be launched by the rank and file of the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L.; that a militant struggle be waged for democracy in those unions where it does not exist; and that the reactionary leadership be ousted and replaced with forward-looking workers who are actuated by their concern for their fellow workers and not by their desire for power or jobs. To such a movement for labor unity the Industrial Union Party pledges its full support.

We are now in the crisis era of capitalism, faced with wholesale wage cuts, the passage of reactionary, labor-regimenting legislation, the menace of a new imperialist war more horrible than the last, the threat of a fascist distatorship. It is precisely because of these conditions which impel the capitalist class to seek a labor "unity" which would hogtie labor that the workers must strive to achieve unity on a democratic basis, as a first step by which the workers can hope to avert the miseries which capitalism seeks to impose upon them.

Only a united, democratically-controlled labor movement can hope to succeed in the great struggles which lie ahead. Only a united militant labor movement can engender the solidarity and class consciousness which are the necessary pre-conditions for any movement for workers' emancipation.

F. PIERSON

Oh, Yeah! "You realize that without the support of big business many of the institutions you cherish would cease to function . . ."—C. F. Brown, Executive Vice-President, Milk Research Council, New York City.

Profound and Professorial. "The roots of Socialism and Nationalism alike are found in disbelief in natural law."—Dr. Lewis Haney, Professor of Economics at New York University.

. . . SEEING RED . . .

Attention Senecas, Creeks and Seminoles: *Public Payrolls must be preserved for Americans*, Assemblyman John A. Devany, Jr. told 1000 members of the Sons of Xavier at a communion breakfast in New York City.

Why Join the Union? "Do you dream of fat pay envelopes? . . . The truth is that the only way to get more money is to deserve more money."—Advertisement of International Correspondence Schools.

Why we fought. "It is not improbable that the only way of maintaining our present pre-eminent trade position . . . is by declaring war on Germany."—from a letter to President Wilson from Walter H. Page, American Ambassador to Great Britain, March 5, 1917. "The world must be made safe for democracy . . . We have no selfish aims to serve . . . We are but the champions of the rights of mankind."—from Pres. Wilson's message to Congress, April 2, 1917.

Bull Department. "Of course the cry of regimentation would be raised, but I am convinced that it would be a fine thing for our youth. It would develop them physically, mentally and morally."—General Wood, adviser to Secretary of Commerce Hopkins, in a speech urging conscription for all youth.

Hear, Hear! "The key to understanding the events today is the realization that we are in the midst of a second imperialist war—a war already in progress . . . Capitalist contradictions, conflicts and crises are at the root of the general war now beginning. We as communists cannot lose sight of that fact."—Clarence Hathaway, Editor of the Daily Worker, to the N. Y. State C. P., March 30, 1939.

Can you spare a nickel, buddy? Since July 1, 1938, the Brazilian government has destroyed 3,469,000 bags of coffee, bringing the total to 65,444,000.

The French Popular Front. Among the powers granted to Premier Daladier in the recent decree laws which sanction a virtual dictatorship in France is the right to declare the Communist Party illegal. Dear Cachin and Thorez: Did it pay?

Taking the Profits Out of War. Capitalism prepares for war not only by building up its military machine but also by making the workers think they are fighting a holy war for democracy. Part of the psychological preparation is spreading the illusion that the capitalists will make no profits from the war, that war is not being waged for the benefit of the plunderers, but that the whole nation is at stake in the war. The hypocrisy of such arguments was eloquently illustrated by the introduction in the Senate by more than fifty senators of a bill to tax the profits out of war by means of a graduated income tax, whose upper brackets are so high that together with state income taxes they would amount to more than the income. When this confiscatory result was drawn to the attention of the drawers of the bill by the capitalist press, they hastily disclaimed any intention of doing away with all profits and stated that the bill would be redrawn. Incidentally, it was discovered that more than half of the senators who had sponsored the bill had no knowledge of its provisions. Though the bill will not be seriously considered when it is redrawn, it will receive loads of publicity later on, to prove to the unknowing that the political lickspittles of capitalism are really nice, impartial gentlemen who are so convinced of the justice of the American cause that they are willing to take the profits of war away from the capitalists. It is not the politicians who will take the profits out of war. Only the workers can do that, by organizing for the abolition of the capitalist system, which thrives and grows fat as the blood of the workers is spilled in senseless butchery over quarrels in which they have no concern.

EDITORIALS

(Continued from page 5)

Roosevelt peace pronouncements and his war preparations. Moseley claimed that the President's intention was to establish Jewish control of the world. Politically immature workers who turn against the Roosevelt war program are bait for this type of demagoguery. "Why should we fight the Germans? For the Jews?" is heard from some befuddled workers. The Stalinists and Jewish national groups who support the program of American imperialism, feed these flames of anti-semitism.

The immediate task in the struggle against war is the organization of the class struggle against the capitalists and their politicians. The Socialist message must be brought before the workers: American capitalism with its widespread financial and commercial interests will inevitably be drawn into the second world war, fighting neither for democracy nor against fascism, but only for its own markets, spheres of interest and colonies.

The workers must take the initiative in unifying their forces, freeing themselves from the stultifying reliance upon the aid of the capitalist state in conducting their affairs. Roosevelt is the chief executive of the capitalist class, and the workers cannot look to the general of the opposing army as the leader in their battle. The present attack on relief in Congress has for its aim the diversion of these funds for war preparation. The haggling between Roosevelt and his opposition over 50 million dollars in relief appropriations affords the administration an opportunity to appear as the spokesman for the unemployed. The workers must be made aware that this is a deception, that Roosevelt took the initiative in cutting relief even before Congress was in session.

The fight against war and fascism can only be carried on by the working class independently, by carrying forward their struggle against the capitalist class, which ultimately means, by their struggle against capitalism, against imperialism, — for Socialism.

I. U. P. DECLARATION ON RELIEF

(Adopted by
Emergency National Convention
April 9, 1939)

The condition of chronic crisis, which began with the collapse of capitalist production in 1929, has created a new category of unemployed—those permanently dispossessed from production. Until 1929 unemployment for the great majority of the workers was transitory. They could look forward to returning to work sooner or later. Since 1929, however, millions of young workers have reached working age without ever being employed, and millions of others will never again find employment within capitalist production, even though "prosperity" returns and the norms of production equal or exceed the 1929 level. The breakdown of capitalist production has dispossessed these workers from their jobs in private industry and has thrown them on the economic scrapheap.

The existence of this mass army of permanently disemployed who have been deprived forever of an opportunity to earn

a livelihood under capitalism, has transformed the question of their fate from an individual matter concerning only the particular unfortunate workers who happened to be without jobs into a political issue of first importance.

The unemployed are compelled to wage a never ceasing struggle to obtain, from the capitalist political government, the elementary means of subsistence if they are to survive. The I. U. P. recognizes that the instinctive organization of the forces of the unemployed to exert pressure on the political government is part and parcel of the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class. The I. U. P. recognizes that if the unemployed failed to organize to maintain and extend their standards they would receive less than the pittance that is now given them.

The I. U. P. pledges its whole-hearted support to the unemployed in their efforts to obtain relief and prevent the lowering of their standards by the encroachments of the capitalist state. In their struggles

the unemployed learn by their experiences that capitalism can not provide them with adequate relief. The perspective for capitalism is bankruptcy and economic disintegration leading ultimately to fascism and chaos, unless the working class, employed and unemployed, organizes its forces to intervene in the process and take over the conduct of society.

The unemployed must realize that in their attempts to obtain relief and amelioration of their condition within the framework of capitalist society, they are dealing with effects and not with the causes of those effects. The struggle of the unemployed must, therefore, concern itself not only with obtaining "jobs at trade union wages" and "adequate relief" under capitalism, but the unemployed, together with the employed, must raise the revolutionary banner of the "abolition of capitalism" and the "establishment of the Socialist Industrial Republic," the only means by which their miserable conditions can really be ended.

CONVENTION NOTES

(Continued from page 2)

an inner-party discussion bulletin, wherein the membership would have full freedom of expression on controversial questions.

The Convention launched a drive to raise \$500.00 for the *New Industrial Unionist* and for the publication of pamphlets. Of this amount, close to \$200.00 was pledged from the floor of the Convention. To help spread the party propaganda further, a new and more modern format for the official organ was approved. In keeping with the new spirit it was decided to re-name the official organ the *New Industrial Unionist*.

A complete plan for the reorganization and revitalization of the party apparatus was adopted in order to carry the revolutionary message of the party more effectively to the workers of America.

The Convention did not confine its labors to organizational problems. A series of resolutions on tactical questions was submitted and adopted covering such issues as the party attitude on Unionism and Union Activity, Relief, and Imperialist War. The obsolete Declaration of Prin-

ciples, unchanged since its adoption in 1933, which failed to mention such developments as the sit-down strike or the rise of the C. I. O., was withdrawn and a new declaration was ordered drawn up and submitted to a referendum vote of the membership. In lieu of this the Convention approved a resolution on Socialist Industrial Unionism, embodying the traditional position of the I. U. P. on questions of principle.

The essence of these resolutions appear in the present issue of the *New Industrial Unionist*, in the article entitled, "The I. U. P. Breaks with Secretarianism." Their exact text will appear in this and future issues. The application of the spirit of these resolutions will place the I. U. P. and its membership in the front ranks of the class struggle and once again make De Leonism a vital force in the American Labor movement.

The Convention adjourned with the singing of the "International" with a renewed and heightened determination on the part of the assembled members to prove not merely by words, but by deeds, that the Industrial Union Party is in truth the spearhead of the Proletarian Revolution.

ABRAHAM ZIEGLER,
Provisional National Secretary.

Hearts a d Flowers. "Farewell to politics! My heart has been broken . . . Man's inhumanity to man . . . all I have done seemingly is to build up an army of ingrates . . . my talent will never again go in the direction of organized professional machine politics."—Charles A. Schneider.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

In addressing ALL communications to the Industrial Union Party make sure the letter bears the name of the Provisional National Secretary, A. Ziegler, and is addressed to him at P. O. Box, No. 4, Station "T", New York, New York. When addressing the Editorial Board or Business Manager of the paper be sure to address them at the above P. O. Box, and include the full title of the New Industrial Unionist.

\$500 JOINT PUBLICATION FUND

Among the more important decisions of the Convention was its action in instructing the Provisional Executive Committee to launch a \$500 Joint Publication Fund to assure the continued publication of the "New Industrial Unionist," and the creation and publication of new Party literature, in keeping with the new tactical line laid down by the Convention.

Many years ago, De Leon observed that a revolutionary working class paper will always be in "hot water." The "New Industrial Unionist" will probably be no exception. There are no financial angels to smooth its path, nevertheless the continued existence of the "New Industrial Unionist" need not be a matter of fervent hope from month to month. A \$500 Joint Publication Fund will assure the regular appearance of the "New Industrial Unionist" for the balance of 1939 and thus free the National Office from the necessity of cluttering up the paper with time and space consuming money appeals.

A May Day Manifesto has already been printed and a leaflet on Labor Unity is in preparation, to be followed by a pamphlet on Labor Unionism.

Almost \$200 was pledged from the floor of the Convention. If those comrades who were unable to attend the Convention, our sympathizers and friends respond in the same manner, we should soon be within striking distance of our goal.

Address all communications to A. Ziegler, P. O. Box, No. 4, Station "T," New York, New York.

In our next issue we shall print a list of acknowledgements and pledges.

A. ZIEGLER, *Provisonal National Secretary*

Industrial Union Party,
P. O. Box No. 4, Station "T,"
New York, N. Y.

Fellow workers:

Please enter my subscription to the NEW INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST
for Six Months ☐ and bill me when I receive my first copy.
for One Year ☐

Please send me further information about the Industrial Union Party. ☐

My subscription has months to run.

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Fraternally,

.....
.....

In the Red!

PHYSICALLY SPEAKING

With this issue, the first of a new series, the NEW INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST is reborn. Issued in a new and, we believe, more modern format, the NEW INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST has been re-equipped to do a job more in keeping with a daily paper than a monthly.

Millions of workers must be reached by our organ and guided and counseled in their struggles against the exploiters. The NEW INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST must be a potent weapon in the hands of the down-trodden. To add to the magnitude of the task before us, the files of the INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST have been appropriated by those repudiated by the National Convention. In order to facilitate the rebuilding of our paper we urge all party members and other workers to do the following, the following:

1. If you were a subscriber in the past, please indicate on the attached card the unexpired term of your subscription and we will continue to send you the paper.
2. If you have not been a subscriber in the past, please fill out the attached card and indicate the subscription you desire. A bill will be sent with the first issue.
3. If you know of an unexpired subscription of any person, please send us the name and address and the number of issues still due him and we will continue to send him the paper.
4. If you desire information about the I. U. P., return the card and it will be forthcoming.

Fraternally,
Executive Committee.

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NEW YORK, N. Y.